

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
ZEN AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0331

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD JUNE 5-11

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN A STATEMENT DELIVERED AT THE JUNE
8 PLENARY MEETING OF THE VIENNA FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS
WHICH FOLLOWED THE LINES OF EARLIER INFORMAL PRESENTATION,
SOVIET REP TARASOV FORMALLY GAVE THE EASTERN RESPONSE

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TO THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE OF APRIL 19. SOVIET REP
CRITICIZED THE WEST'S LATEST PROPOSALS FOR ALLEGEDLY
FAILING TO ALTER THE BASIC WESTERN APPROACH TO ALL IMPORTANT
QUESTIONS AND PROCEEDED OFFICIALLY TO INTRODUCE NEW
EASTERN PROPOSALS, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A SIGNIFICANT
COMPROMISE EFFORT TO MEET WESTERN INTERESTS. IN HIS
PREPARED STATEMENT AT THE REGUALR POST-PLENARY PRESS

BRIEFING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMAN EMPHASIZED THAT THE EAST HAD MOVED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT MANY ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION AND REVEALED SEVERAL DETAILS OF THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS.

END SUMMARY

2. ACTING CANADIAN REP PUDDINGTON AND SOVIET REP TARASOV DELIVERED STATEMENTS AT THE JUNE 8 PLENARY MEETING OF THE VIENNA FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS. IN HIS PRESENTATION, PUDDINGTON ELABORATED UPON THAT ASPECT OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE OF APRIL 19 DEALING WITH PHASE I US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. HE STRESSED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LATEST WESTERN PROPOSALS AS A MAJOR MOVE DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A FAIR BASIS FOR THE EARLY ACHIEVEMENT OF A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FIRST AGREEMENT.

3. SOVIET REP'S PLENARY STATEMENT FORMALLY PROVIDED THE OFFICIAL EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE WEST'S APRIL 19 INITIATIVE. THE RESPONSE, CLOSELY FOLLOWING LINES OF THE JUNE 7 INFORMAL SESSION, CONSISTED OF A CRITIQUE OF THE NEW WESTERN PROPOSALS, WHICH WERE DEEMED TO HAVE LEFT INTACT THE OLD WESTERN POSITIONS ON ALL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND, THUS TO BE UNSUITABLE AS A BASIS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
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AGREEMENTS, AND NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS. TARASOV CHARACTERIZED THE LATTER AS A SIGNIFICANT COMPROMISE EFFORT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WESTERN INTERESTS. ALTHOUGH EASTERN PARTICIPANTS REMAINED CONVINCED OF THE SOUNDNESS OF THEIR ORIGINAL REDUCTION APPROACH, SOVIET REP SAID, THEY HAD DECIDED TO ADVANCE FRESH PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO GIVE THE NEGOTIATIONS A NEW IMPULSE AND TO FOCUS THEM ON THE WORKING OUT OF CONCRETE AGREEMENTS. TARASOV EMPHASIZED THAT, AS A STARTING POINT, ALL PARTICIPANTS MUST PROCEED FROM THE FACT THAT THE MILITARY MANPOWER STRENGTH OF EAST AND WEST IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS ALREADY APPROXIMATELY EQUAL.

4. THE FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL DELEGATION TRANSLATION OF THAT PART OF TARASOV'S RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE PLENARY TEXT WHICH SET FORTH THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS:

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PROPOSALS BY THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE POLISH REPOLE'S
REPUBLIC, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC; AND THE
CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC SUBMITTED ON "8" JUNE, 1978.

GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO ENSURE PROGRESS AT THE VIENNA
NEGOTIATIONS AND TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT,
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE POLISH REPOLE'S REPUBLIC,
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ARE SUBMITTING NEW PROPOSALS.

IN DOING SO, THEY PROCEED FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF AN
EQUAL-PERCENTAGE REDUCTION OF FORCES AND FROM THE FACT OF THE
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EXISTENCE OF AN APPROXIMATE EQUALITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AS WELL AS FROM THE NECESSITY TO UNDERTAKE

EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR DECREASING THE HIGH CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THIS AREA.

GIVEN THE AGREEMENT OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTION AND TO THE APPROXIMATE EQUALITY IN THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES, THE SIDES COULD, DURING 3-4 YEARS, REDUCE THEIR ARMED FORCES BY AN APPROXIMATE EQUAL PERCENTAGE (THE WEST BY 91,000 MEN, AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BY 105,000 MEN.) IN THIS PROCESS ALL THE STATES-DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST TAKE PART IN THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. AFTER THE REDUCTION, THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY STATES WOULD EACH HAVE IN THE REDUCTION AREA AN EQUAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH IN THEIR ARMED FORCES -- 900,000 MEN INCLUDING 700,000 IN GROUND FORCES.

THE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN TWO STAGES.

THE FIRST STAGE

1. IN THE FIRST STAGE, WHICH WILL BE OF A DURATION OF ONE YEAR, THE USA AND THE USSR WOULD REDUCE THEIR GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE BY 7 PERCENT OF THEIR NUMERICAL STRENGTH (THE USSR BY APPROXIMATELY 30,000 MEN AND THE USA BY APPROXIMATELY 14,000 MEN).

2. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE USSR WOULD REDUCE AND WITHDRAW TO ITS TERRITORY ONE ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS WITH SUPPORT AND SERVICE UNITS, TWO DIVISIONS AT FULL STRENGTH AND A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL TANK UNITS AND SUBUNITS, EQUIVALENT TO ONE TANK
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DIVISION, AS WELL AS 1,000 TANKS AND 250 MECHANIZED INFANTRY COMBAT VEHICLES.

3. THE USA WOULD WITHDRAW TO ITS TERRITORY TWO-THREE BRIGADES, WHILE THE REMAINING FORCES SUBJECT TO REDUCTION WOULD BE WITHDRAWN IN THE FORM OF OTHER UNITS AND SUBUNITS. IN ADDITION, THE USA WOULD REDUCE 1,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS, 36 "PERSHING" MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND 54 F-4 DELIVERY AIRCRAFT.

4. AFTER THE REDUCTION OF THE USA AND USSR ARMAMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE PRESENT PROPOSALS, THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE NUCLEAR WARHEADS, THE QUANTITY OF "PERSHING" MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND F-4 DELIVERY AIRCRAFT OF THE USA AS WELL AS THE QUANTITY OF SOVIET TANKS WOULD BE LIMITED AT THEIR RESIDUAL LEVEL.

5. UPON SIGNING THE FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT, THE USA AND THE USSR WOULD EXCHANGE LISTS SPECIFYING THE ACTUAL IDENTIFI-

CATION, THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND THE LOCATION OF THE FORMATIONS, UNITS AND SUBUNITS SUBJECT TO REDUCTION.

6. IN THE FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT, THE STATES OTHER THAN THE USA AND THE USSR WOULD UNDERTAKE AN OBLIGATION IN A SECOND STAGE, TO REDUCE THEIR GROUND FORCES IN THE COURSE OF THE 2-3 YEARS AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST STAGE.

7. THE SCOPE OF THE REDUCTION WOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR EACH STATE INDIVIDUALLY AND WOULD BE DETERMINED FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE APPROXIMATELY PROPORTIONATE TO THE TOTAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES.

8. COLLECTIVE LEVELS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES AND THE NATO COUNTRIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITHIN THE LIMITS INDICATED ABOVE AND UNDER THE OBSERVANCE OF THE FOLLOWING RULES:

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-- FIRSTLY, THE FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTIONS WHATSOEVER, WOULD BE COVERED BY THESE COLLECTIVE LEVELS, I.E., NATIONAL LIMITATIONS WOULD NOT BE ESTABLISHED ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF ANY OF THE STATES, INCLUDING THE USSR AND THE USA;

-- SECONDLY, IN THE CASE OF A POSSIBLE UNILATERAL REDUCTION IN THE FORCES OF ANY OF THE STATES, NO OTHER STATE PARTICIPATING IN THE REDUCTION AND BELONGING TO THE SAME GROUPING WOULD BE PERMITTED TO INCREASE ITS FORCES BY MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES WHICH HAD BEEN REDUCED BY ITS ALLIES, AND MUST NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, AS A RESULT OF SUCH AN INCREASE, REESTABLISH OR, EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, EXCEED THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES WHICH IT HAD BEFORE THE REDUCTION.

-- THIRDLY, THE POST-REDUCTION RESIDUAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF EACH STATE COULD NOT BE RAISED THROUGH AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MILITARY POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY CIVILIANS IN PEACE-TIME.

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9. ALL PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD UNDERTAKE
A REDUCTION OF THEIR FORCES IN THE SECOND STAGE WOULD CARRY
IT OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT ELABORATED AS A RESULT
OF THE SECOND STAGE NEGOTIATIONS, OR, IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT
HAD NOT BEEN REACHED, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE METHOD OF REDUCTION
OF FORCES ESTABLISHED FOR THE USSR AND THE USA IN THE FIRST
STAGE AGREEMENT. IF THIS METHOD WERE TO DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY
FROM THAT ENVISAGED FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE FORCES OF THE USSR
AND THE USA, THESE TWO STATES-PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT
TO CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS NO LONGER BOUND BY THE OBLIGATIONS
UNDERTAKEN BY THEM IN THE FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT.

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SECOND STAGE

1. DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND STAGE, ALL
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE USA AND THE USSR WOULD REDUCE
THEIR FORCES BY 40 PERCENT OF THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF
THE FORCES TO BE REDUCED.

2. DURING THE SECOND-THIRD YEARS THE ABOVE-MENTIONED STATES

WOULD REDUCE THEIR GROUND FORCES BY THE REMAINING 60 PERCENT.

3. IN THE SECOND STAGE, THE USA AND THE USSR WOULD FURTHER REDUCE A QUANTITY OF FORCES WHICH, IN PERCENTAGE TERMS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REDUCTION OF THEIR FORCES IN THE FIRST STAGE, WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE PERCENTAGE OF THE REDUCTION OF THE FORCES OF ALL THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE RESPECTIVE MILITARY-POLITICAL GROUPING.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION IN THE FIRST AND SECOND STAGES, IT WOULD NOT BE PROHIBITED TO CARRY OUT A RELOCATION OF THE REMAINING INDIVIDUAL MILITARY FORMATIONS WITHIN THE REDUCTIONS AREA AT THE DISCRETION OF ONE OR ANOTHER STATE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO INCREASE THE OVERALL QUANTITY OF GROUND FORCE FORMATIONS AND UNITS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO THE REDUCTION.

2. ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHICH ARE NOT DEALT WITH IN THESE PROPOSALS REMAIN AS PREVIOUSLY PRESENTED. END TEXT

5. IN HIS PREPARED STATEMENT MADE AT THE REGULAR POST-PLENARY PRESS BRIEFING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMAN
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CONFIRMED THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD TAKEN A NEW INITIATIVE IN REPLY TO THE APRIL 19 WESTERN PROPOSALS. THE EASTERN PRESS STATEMENT DID NOT REPEAT TARASOV'S PLENARY CRITICISM OF THE LATTER INITIATIVE. INSTEAD, IT EMPHASIZED THE COMPROMISE NATURE OF THE NEW EASTERN MOVE AND REITERATED THAT IT WAS PREMISED ON RECOGNITION OF THE FACT OF APPROXIMATE NATO-WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER EQUALITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. STATEMENT INDICATED THAT EAST HAD, ON CONDITION THEIR DATA WAS ACCEPTED, ACCEPTED COMMON CEILING AT 700,000 MEN, ACCEPTED COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE, HAD AGREED TO SELECTIVE ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AS PROPOSED BY THE WEST, AND HAD ACCEPTED THAT PHASE I REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE BASED ON AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN STARTING STRENGTH.

6. AT THE JUNE 7 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, EASTERN REPS PREVIEWED THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE APRIL 19 WESTERN INITIATIVE. IN SO DOING, THEY FORSHADOWED REMARKS MADE BY SOVIET REP TARASOV AT THE JUNE 8 PLENARY MEETING. EASTERN REPS ALSO REPLIED TO INITIAL WESTERN QUESTIONS AIMED AT CLARIFYING VARIOUS PROVISIONS OF THE NEW EASTERN

PROPOSALS. DURING THE BALANCE OF THE SESSION, EASTERN AND WESTERN REPS EXCHANGED FURTHER QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE MILITARY MANPOWER DATA THEY HAD RESPECTIVELY TABLED.

7. AT A JUNE 9 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY, PENDING FURTHER CLARIFICATION, TO ATTEMPT A MEANINGFUL ANALYSIS OF THE LATEST EASTERN MOVE. AT THE SAME MEETING, THE GROUP APPROVED A REPORT TO THE NAC CONTAINING THE TEXT OF THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS AND A SUMMARY OF EASTERN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THOSE PROPOSALS ASKED BY WESTERN REPS AT THE JUNE 7 INFORMAL SESSION. RESOR
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